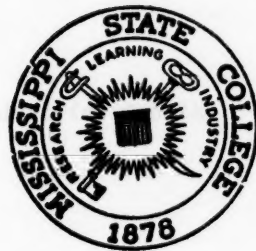


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The Intellectual Drive

by

Charles P. Hogarth

Before stating what I mean by the intellectual drive and how scholars should relate themselves to it, I would like to describe the type of education that I think we should strive to get students to achieve.

Education must promote the wisdom necessary to enrich the daily life of citizens and to shape and formulate will-power to hold fast to the dictates of wisdom. Here our educational systems must function in teaching citizens to develop their best potentialities, to make their daily living significant, and to seek knowledge for its own sake. True wisdom demands the accretion of knowledge by a patient search for truth and the application of this knowledge to a fruitful way of life.

One phase of this two-fold wisdom is a constant quest for truth, which is motivated by a thirst for knowledge. The development of a zeal for knowledge and of an objective attitude of mind, which is a prerequisite, can be realized on the undergraduate level, while at the same time a foundation is being laid for future contributions to scholarship. The scientific and philosophic spirit, which are basically one, reflect merely the desire of men to know the truth, whether it is painful or pleasant. This desire for truth reaches its fullest expression in the work of creative scholars, who are extending the boundaries of knowledge by countless hours of patient research in laboratories, in libraries, and private studies. Countless scholars are adding here and there tiny bits to the mosaic of human knowledge. Eventually all of it will present a definite pattern, a coherent picture, for all fields of knowledge are inter-related.

While many scholars are toiling, each over his own part of the pattern, a genius such as the late Einstein, literally projects his mind into space and with a flash of insight achieves an over-all view, which he writes down as a simple equation. But this simple equation results in ushering in the atomic age. In his Unified Field Theory he may have discovered the relationship between all known physical phenomena. He is seeking for the one truth about the physical universe which will illuminate and clarify all the postulates of physical science. Though he thinks his theory convincing, he says modestly: "I don't know how far there is any truth in it." In other words he doesn't know to

Dr. Hogarth, who is president of Mississippi State College for Women, delivered the above paper before the annual meeting of the Northeast Mississippi Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa held at State College on May 20, 1955.

what extent his equations describe physical reality. Yet he has been very successful in describing that reality, for his famous Theory of Relativity has unleashed the most powerful sources of energy in the universe.

It is the responsibility of all our colleges and universities to promote this spirited quest for knowledge and to develop in students reflective, inquiring minds, free from skepticism on the one hand and from dogmatism on the other. The skeptic sits down in despair and doubts whether there is any use to search for knowledge. This is, fortunately, not often the attitude of youth, but of disillusioned age or of some philosophic system intended to be a challenge rather than a creed. It is difficult for even the most determined skeptic to be consistent in his skepticism. The world of experience in which we live proves that there is objective knowledge which is ours for the taking and which can stimulate us to further intellectual efforts. Whenever we come out with the right answer to a problem, no one asks "why". But if we get the wrong answer we are asked: "Why did you go wrong? What caused you to get this answer?" It is apparent that we do not need to give a cause for going right, because our reasonable deeds and thoughts are in harmony with the objective world and the objective body of knowledge around us. The skeptic undermines his own position when he says that he is certain that we can never know that we know, because if he can be certain about one thing, he can be certain about many things.

The dogmatist has a closed mind, since he assumes that he already has all the answers. He is already equipped with an authoritative body of knowledge which serves his needs amply, and he is rather irritated at anything which tends to upset his position. The dogmatist is much less dangerous than the skeptic, for it is better to be certain of knowing than of not knowing. In many cases the dogmatist is the conservative who fiercely champions traditional beliefs and customs, while the radical thinker sets the premium on change and novelty. The radical may initiate progress but he may also initiate chaos. The dogmatic conservative may give stability to the social order or he may retard the wheels of progress. So it is necessary to cultivate in our thinkers an educational "golden mean," which lies between the extremes of radicalism and dogmatism.

This "golden mean" is realized in an attitude of mind which may be termed inquiring and reflective. To be imbued with inquiring minds does not mean that we are to accept new ideas just because they are new, or that we are to be like bees, darting from flower to flower and choosing according to our individual tastes. Rather, we are to accept new ideas only after we have weighed and tested them against the old, and have found the new to be of superior validity to the old. Neither does reflection mean that we must stay in a state of suspended animation and be reduced to indecision.

But reflection does mean that we stop to weigh all possible evidence. Even when that has been done, we may have to proceed on faith, as the surgeon does in the case of a critical illness, when he decides to operate. Al-

though he cannot be sure that an operation will save the patient, he must proceed under this conviction, if his study of the case indicates that surgery offers the best chance for survival.

Observation, reflection, comparison are essential factors in the attainment of scientific beliefs. The scientific method, admittedly man's best tool for the expansion of physical knowledge, demands a mind free from prejudice and bias, a mind trained to be as objective as is possible for the human mind to be. Francis Bacon, the essayist and early modern scientist, showed that men are hindered by certain tendencies of mind, such as personal bias, verbalism, and dogmatism, and that these "idols", as he called them, must be expelled if there is to be progress in knowledge. Today we take this scientific attitude for granted. We assume that a good scientist will not manipulate his data to prove a theory which is congenial to his preconceived beliefs but will accept the verdict of impartial experimentation.

Thus far I have been talking about wisdom as a quest for truth, especially for scientific truth. But the quest for truth is not limited merely to prying into the secrets of the physical universe, nor is experience limited to the concrete evidence gained by our five senses. Scientific knowledge is just one phase of the knowledge that is necessary to integrate successful living. The scientific laboratory can test only one part of that great field of experience which includes all human aims, activities, enjoyment. Love of friends and family, the appreciation and creation of beauty, feelings of wonder and of exaltation in the presence of nature, suffering in the sufferings of others -- all these are a part of experience. Experience embraces man's highest aspirations as well as his lowest urges, his intangible ideals as well as his visible activities. It is granted by all that human values must take into consideration the tangible values of economic and physical welfare. But higher in the scale of values are those ideals which make us seek social order and the reciprocal bonds of fellowship, which promote intellectual and spiritual growth, for it is in these values that the personality finds its richest fulfillment. These higher values determine the character of a man and the character of a civilization.

So far as can be determined, man is the only animal who feels dissatisfied with himself. His mind conceives values and then overcomes all obstacles to realize these values. As soon as one value is achieved, another ideal should be in front beckoning man on. Our ideals are thus concepts that have never yet been realized, for they are always beyond current practice. They constitute the goals which shape and mold our lives, which direct our thinking and our activities.

At times we may feel pessimistic about the present era, when our civilization is constantly involved in war and threatened by communist aggression. But the very fact of our pessimism is evidence that we are suffering over an ideal unrealized, that we have ideals and suffer over their non-fulfillment.

The course of history seems to be a process of the realization of ideals. Here again the pessimist may be disposed to deny this statement. We grant that there are injustices in our social order today, but we are gradually trying to correct them. When we look back over the course of history and then look at our own democracy today with its many provisions for education, for economic security, for medical care, we become aware that mankind has made progress, though there are back-steps and back-washes in the line of march, and that this progress has been motivated by higher and higher ideals of human welfare.

Man, then, unless he retrogresses, must move in the direction of his ideals. They give meaning and purpose to his life and determine his way of life. The higher realm of intangible values does not submit so easily to analysis by laboratory techniques and by experimentation. Yet the experience of mankind as a whole supports the position that the intangible values are none the less real, none the less potent. Rather, as the human mind dominates the world, so ideals dominate the human mind. Hence education must not only impart a knowledge of facts and a thirst for knowledge but must develop the ideals through which the facts can be interpreted. A sense of values gives a proper perspective as a means for understanding the significance of facts.

An educational system which promotes wisdom in its dual form, as a search for knowledge and as a way of life, inspired by intellectual and spiritual ideals, will necessarily produce scholars and leaders. These two categories are not mutually exclusive, for scholars may be leaders and leaders may be scholars. The two groups must have many of the same qualities and ideals. Is it too much to expect scholarly leaders in all areas of life? I do not think so. We must have an increasing number of superior people and of scholarly leaders, for therein lies the hope for America.

Thus far I have been talking about what we want to develop in our students. Now I would like to explain what I mean by intellectual drive and to make three suggestions to the scholars here assembled. These suggestions are concerned with the encouragement of scholarship.

There are entirely too many misconceptions about the role of the scholar. You will recall that approximately fifty years ago Stuart Sherman of Harvard made the following sardonic, but exaggerated, statement: "The very best men do not enter upon graduate study at all; the next best drop out after a year's experiment; the mediocre men at the end of two years; the most unfit survive and become doctors of philosophy, who go forth and reproduce their kind." There is, I believe, even today a climate of opinion that is not conducive to developing scholars.

You will recall Davis Riesman's recent analysis of the way in which social character has been and is formed. The trend has been from tradition-directed to inner-directed and now to other-directed. At one time it was the

desire of people to follow tradition. Then most people acquired early in life an internalized set of goals that they desire to follow. Now there is a tendency for most people to follow the expectations and preferences of others.

P. F. Drucker said that the spiritual man was regarded as ideal during the middle ages, the intellectual man, during the Renaissance. Then with the rise of capitalism and Marxism, the economic man was the ideal. Then came, especially in fascist countries, the heroic man in the Nietzschean sense. More recently, E. C. Tolman says that now the ideal is the psychiatrically healthy man will affect our era as profoundly as the ones mentioned by Drucker. Maslow describes the psychiatrically healthy man as follows:

First of all and most important of all is the strong belief that man has an essential nature of his own, some skeleton of psychological structure that man be treated and discussed analogously with his physical structure, that he has needs, capacities, and tendencies that are genetically based, some of which are characteristic of the whole human species, cutting across all cultural lines, and some of which are unique to the individual. These needs are on their face good or neutral rather than evil. Second, there is involved the conception that full health and normal and desirable development consist in actualizing this nature, in fulfilling these potentialities, and in developing into maturity along the lines that this hidden, covert, dimly seen essentially nature dictates, growing from within rather than being shaped from without. Third, it is now seen clearly that psychopathology in general results from the denial or the frustration or the twisting of man's essential nature.

The needs of men for self-fulfillment are usually classified as physical, social, and intellectual or spiritual, and the first two are looked upon as basic. It is granted that the realization of man's essential nature demands physical vitality, economic security, work that is a true calling and not drudgery, leisure hours profitably spent. Self-realization demands a secure social order in which the individual may find love and the esteem of his fellowmen. A materialistic civilization places its emphasis upon the physical and social values. In the acquisition of these values intellectual activity functions as a means to an end, as a means to economic and social welfare. These are worthy ends. But love of learning for its own sake, progressive mastery of the truth are the crowning points of self-fulfillment. This I shall call the intellectual drive. Beyond inherited mental, emotional, and physical characteristics, it may be considered an acquired drive.

The development of this intellectual drive is the great ecumenical need of today. This entails the development of scholars, as I described earlier in this paper. For wisdom in its dual form, as a search for knowledge and as a way of life, is the product of the scholar.

Unfortunately, the intellectual drive does not have the potency of the physiological need. There is a hierarchy of relative prepotency in the needs of man and the intellectual drive is of less potency in people as a whole. Therefore, it must be cultivated, nurtured, and encouraged especially by scholars for they know more about it.

The signs of our times, as mentioned above, seem to suggest hope. Although, as a whole, Riesman's analysis of society is discouraging from the point of view of developing the intellectual drive, when people follow the expectations and preferences of others scholars should do everything within their power to lead the way, exalt scholarship and stimulate others to be scholars.

Even though the intellectual man has not been the ideal since the Renaissance, Maslow believes that the ideal of our era (the psychiatrically healthy man) will grow from within rather than being shaped from without. I take this to mean a swing from Riesman's outer-direction to his inner-direction, and primarily in keeping with man's basic needs. But intellectual values, as I have shown, are a part of man's basic needs. They are as important to the development of man's essential nature as are the physiological and social values. Scholars and teachers must help in building a healthy, prosperous, orderly society, for these basic values are not to be ignored. But they must also capitalize upon the inquiring minds of students, upon their natural curiosity and desire to know, and by so doing, they may develop in students the intellectual drive.

We know, as Ralph Waldo Emerson pointed out one hundred and eighteen years ago, that the scholar is influenced by nature, the past, and experiences. He said that the scholar must have self-trust. He said that "the office of the scholar is to cheer, to raise, and to guide men by showing them facts amidst appearances."

This cheering, raising and guiding, as mentioned by Emerson, takes me to the first point that I would like to emphasize as the sine qua non for present-day scholars. Some teaching is inspirational. Some is not. Some counseling is inspirational. Some is not. Words spoken by some people in passing are inspirational. Others are not. The presence of some people is inspirational. And the presence of others is not. "The touch of his hand on my shoulder." "The quiet, dignified inspiration that I got from my knowledge of her character and beliefs." "I did things right because I thought he wanted me to do them that way." These are reactions of students who are inspired.

Scholars should go beyond the imparting of accumulated knowledge. They should inspire others to do better than they would have if they had not been associated with them. This inspiration is the key to the development of the intellectual drive. For inner-drive it must be. Without it the desire that is often created does not develop into action. With the mental capacity, emotional make-up, physical stamina, knowledge of the past, and proper technique,

nothing is accomplished in extending the boundaries of knowledge without the inspired drive to seek truth and to put these truths to work for the benefit of mankind.

The second suggestion that I would like to emphasize is that scholars should do everything that they can to create a climate of opinion that is conducive to developing scholars. There is a definite attitude prevalent today that, as Riesman points out, causes people to follow the expectations and preferences of others. Often we hear statements like these: "I will do this because the crowd does it," "I will not do that because it will stand in disfavor with the crowd with which I run." "Run" is the correct word because seldom do they stop to think!

You will recall that Emerson stated that a scholar should not be a recluse. Emerson said "The world-this shadow of the soul, or other me-lies wide around. Its attractions are the keys which unlock my thoughts and make me acquainted with myself. I run eagerly into this resounding tumult. I grasp the hands of those next to me.... The true scholar grudges every opportunity of action passed by, as a loss of power. It is the raw material out of which the intellect molds her splendid products."

Therefore, in the process of learning about the world the scholar should promulgate the concept of scholarship which I formulated at the beginning of this paper, or better still his own conception of scholarship and the great need for it, so that the climate of opinion will change and scholars will be held in high esteem. To have the scholar as the ideal rather than the psychiatrically healthy man is no inconsistency. It is merely the next desirable step to an even higher plane.

As my third suggestion to this group I propose that you should continue to grow and produce in your respective scholarly fields. The saying "What you do speaks with such force that I cannot hear what you say" is equally as potent today as it has been in the past. Your example will be an inspiration to others. Without it, the world is so much the poorer. Back in 1909 Charles W. Eliot referred to Ralph Waldo Emerson as "the greatest of American thinkers." Have we produced a greater one since then? The need for great thinkers is more urgent today than in Emerson's time, and in all probability the need for them in the future will be greater than it is today.

I anticipate that you will ask how one person can inspire students, get out in the world and create a climate of opinion that is conducive of scholarship, and produce in his own field? My answer is as simple as this three-fold task is difficult. Some will do all three. Some will do two. Others will do only one. It is as important for the scholar to perform the three functions that I have mentioned as it is for the specialist to see knowledge as a whole even while he is making advancements in his own field. The price is great but the rewards are bountiful.

Emerson exhorted you to have self-trust. I say use your power. And in conclusion Thomas Browne said:

Scholars are men of Peace, they bear no Arms, but their tongues are sharper than Actius his razor; their Pens carry farther, and give a louder report than Thunder; I had rather stand the shock of a Basilisco, than the fury of a merciless Pen. It is not meer Zeal to Learning, or Devotion to the Muses, that wiser Princes Patron the Arts, and carry an indulgent aspect unto Scholars; but a desire to have their names eternized by the memory of their writings, and a fear of the revengeful Pen of succeeding ages; for these are the men, that, when they have played their parts, and had their exits, must step out and give the moral of their Scenes, and deliver unto Posterity an inventory of their Virtues and Vices. And surely there goes a great deal of Conscience to the compiling of an History: there is no reproach to the scandal of a Story; it is such an authentick kind of falshood that with authority belies our good names to all Nations and Posterity.

Bernard Mandeville, High Priest of Paradox

By

Herbert Drennon

In 1924, F. B. Kaye's two-volume edition of Bernard Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees*, with a critical, historical, and explanatory commentary, appeared and soon won wide recognition among scholars. Kaye's study is an excellent example of literary scholarship that concerns itself with the background and current of ideas out of which an author grows and develops into a figure of rare proportions in his own right. It is the kind of scholarship that amply fills in the details so that the pattern of a man's life and works emerges into full and reasonably intelligible dimensions.

Kaye has treated background without being dogmatic as to influences, personal in character or stemming from the *milieu* of a period, that might have wrought most upon the heart and mind of the author under consideration. Obviously, parallels and points of view, similar in tone and intent to many uttered by Mandeville, can be found in writers who antedate him as well as in those writers who were his contemporaries. Montaigne, La Rochefoucauld, and Bayle on the Continent, and Hobbes, Locke, and the Earl of Rochester in England, to mention only a few out of a multitude, must have given Mandeville much substance to serve his paradoxical turn of mind. Since Kaye's work appeared, there has been little left, it seems, for other scholars to add in order to understand Mandeville's place in literary or philosophic history.

Bernard de Mandeville, or better known as simply Bernard Mandeville, was born, according to the *Bibliothèque Britannique* for 1773, at Dordrecht, Holland, a village some ten miles distant from Rotterdam, in 1670. He was baptized, according to information furnished Kaye by an archivist of Rotterdam, on November 20, 1670. He graduated in medicine at Leyden in the year 1691 as a specialist in hyprchondriack and hysterick passions or diseases. After a period of uncertain length, he went to London to learn the language but married there in 1699 and never returned to the Continent again. History is tightmouthed concerning Mandeville's personal life and little more than gossip, some favorable and some splenetic, is known of him up to his death on Sunday morning, January 21, 1733. Kaye says:

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The brilliant free-thinking doctor was a kind of scarecrow to frighten ministers with, and the most damning whispers about him rustle through the pages of the eighteenth century....¹

Monsieur Louis Moreri, drawing heavily upon the article on Mandeville in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, states: "On dit que l'auteur vivoit comme il écrivoit: s'il accusation est bien fondée, son nom ne sera pas un grand honneur au parti Deist..."² Suffice it to say that Mandeville enjoyed the friendship of the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Macclesfield, and that Benjamin Franklin, meeting him at an alehouse in London, found him to be "a most facetious, entertaining companion."³ Perhaps Sir Leslie Stephens, who found himself at some odds with Mandeville's paradoxical views concerning the motivation of human conduct, strikes the right key for appraising the value to society of a man like Bernard Mandeville when he says that "a hearty contempt for the various humbugs of this world is not in itself a bad thing."⁴ Mandeville, in his probings into the background and causes of human action, seeking to understand the eternal ethical problem involved in human behavior, revealed a complete lack of sympathy for the pious fourflushers he found operating in the trades and professions of his day.

As succinctly as possible, let us present here Kaye's discussion of "Mandeville's Thought."⁵ The author divides his discussion into phases, the objective and the subjective, after which he devoted some space to Mandeville's views in economics and his ethical views as contrasted with those of the Third Earl of Shaftesbury. No attempt will be made to cover except most sketchily Kaye's able thesis.

Under the objective phase, Kaye shows Mandeville's relationship with deism, with the scepticism "especially prevalent in the Renaissance," and with the philosophical anarchism of writers like Pierre Bayle. The Deists upheld the divine origin of truth and virtue and at the same time harmonized this view with a belief that truth and virtue find a basis in observation and experience. Revelation and the Light of Nature as revealed in experience are

¹*The Fable of the Bees: or Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, by Bernard Mandeville, with a Commentary Critical, Historical, and Explanatory by F. B. Kaye, 2 Vols. (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924), I, xxi.

²*Supplément Au Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, Tome Second (Paris, MDCCXXXV), p. 20.

³As reported by Kaye op. cit., p. XXIX.

⁴Stephens, Sir Leslie, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 Vols. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, date of Putnam edition not given, though first edition of Stephens's work appeared in 1876), II, 33. For a fuller and rather fair appraisal of Mandeville's whole ethical philosophy, see Stephens, II, 33-46.

⁵*Fable of the Bees*, I, xxxviii-lxxvi.

one since each is a manifestation of the will of God. Now when contradiction appear in our experiences with moral codes and in our interpretations of God's will as found in revelation, doubt arises as to absolute values to be replaced by belief in the relativism of moral concepts. But belief in the laws of nature as being expressions of God's will is anti-relativistic. In short, moral laws are divine in origin and absolute in value. The Deists, nevertheless, tried to hold both points of view in proper balance. On the one side, they maintained a "most rigorous and uncompromising absolutism." On the other, they learned from experience that moral codes relate "to human convenience as utilitarianism."

The Sceptics believed that "religion offers us absolute truth" and that reason is incapable of arriving at finality in the moral realms. Since that is true, then man needs religion in order to find ultimate truth.

Mandeville's true thought-ancestor was Pierre Bayle. Bayle definitely pointed out that revealed religion and truth revealed by experience are opposed. One is characterized by absolutism and the other by relativism. Furthermore, he showed "the opposition of human nature in general to the demands of religion." Bayle did not reject religion but he did show that human nature is such that it can never live up to the demands of the ascetic ideals as championed by true believers in Christianity. Kaye says that "the incongruity of the two attitudes held concurrently is clear in Bayle; but it is in Mandeville that it becomes most definite."⁶ Mandeville showed that the rigorism of asceticism could not be harmonized with what experience revealed to be true of human nature. His *Fable of the Bees* and his numerous remarks later upon certain lines appearing in his poem show that he believed that men's actions are motivated by self-interest and are, when judged by the rigorous ideals of religious asceticism, vices; but when such actions are judged not by absolute but by relative and utilitarian standards, then they are virtues in the sense of being public benefits. This attitude gives meaning to his view that private vices are public benefits. Kaye would "define Mandeville's ethics as a combination of philosophical anarchism in theory with utilitarianism in practice."⁷

In discussing the subjective phase of Mandeville's ethics, Kaye stresses the fact that Mandeville believed that human conduct is motivated strictly by self-love and not by a natural social passion of love of society. Politicians or the founders and maintainers of government and organized society have used appeals to pride and shame to make men live contrary to their natural appetites and desires. "Moral Virtues", says Mandeville, "are the Political Offspring which Flattery begot upon Pride."⁸

⁶*Ibid.*, p. xlv.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. lvi.

⁸As quoted by Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. lxii.

Kaye's treatment of the background of *The Fable of the Bees* stresses Mandeville's anti-rationalism and shows that the historic current for this point of view flows from many sources.⁹ His view that man's altruism is egoism in disguise and that man's seeming benevolent actions really stem from selfishness also has its origin in many writers before him, for example, in Thomas Hobbes. It is pride that makes man hide his selfishness. Kaye states Mandeville's view as follows:

To gratify this passion man will undergo the greatest deprivations, and, as a wise organization of society has ordained that actions which are for the good or ill of others shall be repaid by glory or punished by shame, the passion of pride is the great bulwark of morality, the instigator of all action for the good of others which seems contrary to the interests and instincts of the performer.¹⁰

Finally, Mandeville's defense of luxury, free trade, and the policy of *laissez-faire* also had a certain definite ancestry but Mandeville's psychological and political analysis of the factors involved and his method of treatment lent them a lucidity and a kind of particular significance heretofore unknown.

Of "Mandeville's Influence,"¹¹ Kaye limits his discussion to three fields: literature, ethics, and economics. Mandeville's literary influence was inconsequential. His ethical influence primarily consisted of his vigorous defense of a paradox that forced his opponents to find ingenious and logical ways to escape from the dilemma Mandeville's doctrine presented. The Mandevillian paradox is thus emphasized by Kaye:

He agreed that only such behavior is virtuous as proceeds from dispassionate obedience to a moral code; and then he demonstrated that there can be not such conduct in this world. He admitted that a state based on selfishness is corrupt and that luxury is contrary to the Christian religion, and then he proceeded to show that all society must be based on selfishness and that no state can be great without luxury. He agreed that men must transcend their animal nature, and then he proved that it could not be done.¹²

The way out of the paradox was to modify the rigoristic doctrine with its ascetic rules governing moral conduct and to accept the fact that man's actions are far from being dispassionate in nature. In short, William Law, Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Adam Smith and similar critics followed lines of argument that ultimately offered an escape from the paradox by adopt-

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. lxxix-lxxxiv.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xci.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. cxiv-cxvi.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. cxxvi.

ing "a utilitarian scheme of ethics."¹³ Concerning Mandeville's influence in economics suffice it to say here that his strong support of such views as division of labor, his defense of luxury, and his concern with the *laissez-faire* theory gave impetus to the development of such ideas later in the works of Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill and others.

Let us now turn more specifically to Mandeville's own writings. His Hudibrastic doggerel, *The Grumbling Hive: or, Knaves Turn'd Honest*, consisting of some several hundred lines, was anonymously published in London on April 2, 1705. Though pirated and also hawked about the streets of London, it aroused little interest in the reading circles of the struggling metropolis. In 1714, appeared an anonymous book entitled *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, which contained not only a reprint of *The Grumbling Hive* with some twenty extended remarks on various passages in the poem but also an essay entitled *An Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue*. Though a second edition came out the same year, still no furore arose as a result of the publication. In fact, Kaye says that he has been able to find no reference in the works of the day to Mandeville until 1723. In 1723, another edition of the *Fable* appeared to which two more essays, *An Essay on Charity and Charity-Schools* and *A Search into the Nature of Society*, were added. Controversies now occasioned the publication of various editions of Part I of the *Fable*. In 1728, Part II of the *Fable* appeared and consisted of six dialogues supporting Mandeville's controversial views. By 1733, the year he died, the two parts were published as a complete edition. Rapidly Mandeville's reputation had spread, following 1723, and editions of the works were translated and published abroad in both Germany and France.

In *The Grumbling Hive*, which first appeared in 1705, Mandeville described a hive "well stockt with bees" that enjoyed "luxury and ease" and yet were famous for their laws, their arms, and their being the nursery "of Sciences and Industry."

No Bees had better Government, More Fickleness, or less Content: They were not Slaves to tyranny, Nor rul'd by wild Democracy; But Kings, that could not wrong, because Their Power was circumscrib'd by Laws.

The bees lived like men and millions of them worked for "Each other's Lust and Vanity." He takes pains to describe the characteristics of each group of bees that lived in the hive and showed how they manifested traits of character peculiar to the following types: The lawyers who split fees, delayed hearings, and defended wicked causes; the physicians who placed fame and wealth above their patient's health; the priests who were "Hot and Ignorant" and

¹³*Ibid.*, p. cxxx.

noted for "Their Sloth, Lust, Avarice and Pride;" the soldiers some of whose generals "fought the Foe" but "Others took Bribes to let them go;" the king's ministers who robbed "the very Crown they saved." Of the hive as a whole Mandeville wrote:

Thus every part was full of Vice,
Yet the whole Mass a Paradise;

And Virtue, who from Politicks
Had learn'd a Thousand Cunning Tricks
Was, by their happy Influence,
Made Friends with Vice: And ever since,
The worse of all the Multitude
Did something for the Common Good.

Mandeville points out that Luxury and Pride employed millions of the poor.

Envy it self, and Vanity,
Were Ministers of Industry;
Their darling Folly, Fickleness,
In Diet, Furniture and Dress,
That strange ridic'lous Vice, was made
The very Wheel that turn'd the Trade.

Though the individuals in the hive enjoyed pleasures, comforts, and ease heretofore unknown, they continually cried out against the cheats and clamored for honesty which Jove was indignantly moved to give them. Their hearts now became filled with honesty but what a consternation develops in the hive! "Meat fell a penny [sic] in the Pound", lawyers no longer had anything to do, and Justice, "with all her Train and Pomp retir'd." Trade falls off drastically now that avarice and luxury no longer play their part; houses and land drop in prices and merchants no longer do a thriving business, either on land or sea. The poem closes with a moral:

Then leave Complaints: Fools only strive
To make a Great and honest Hive.

Fraud, Luxury and Pride must live,
While we the Benefits receive:

So Vice is beneficial found,
When it's by Justice lopt and bound;
Nay, where the People would be great,
As necessary to the State,
As Hunger is to make 'em eat.
Bare Virtue can't make Nations live
In Splendor; they, that would revive
A Golden Age, must be as free,
For Acorns, as for Honesty.

To have a great and flourishing country which is at the same time free from great vices is nothing more than "a vain Eutopia seated in the Brain."

Such was the thesis of the anonymous doggerel that appeared in 1705. It contained all of the kernel of Mandeville's famous paradox which becomes part of the title, *Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, in the edition of 1714. Though this edition, as already noted, contained many extended remarks on various passages in the poem as well as the article dealing with the *Origin of Moral Virtue*, Mandeville still remained free from the bitter attacks that were to come, and this in spite of the fact that his remarks and his essay were very clever expositions of a point of view that ran counter to a current of ethical thought that had found many defenders in the latter part of the seventeenth century when ethical rationalism arose to combat the moral philosophy that Thomas Hobbes had so vigorously propounded.

In discussing the origin of moral virtue, Mandeville had coined one of his striking phrases: "the Moral Virtues are the Political Offspring which Flattery begot upon Pride."¹⁴ By this he meant that though human beings are motivated in their actions by selfish interests alone, they are moved by pride to appear before the world better than they are. Politicians, that is, all agencies that have played a part in bringing man out of a statue of nature, where, as Hobbes had pointed out, he was nasty, brutal, and selfish, to a state of civilization, have always made use of flattery to make men go against their natural propensities and to act better than they really are at heart. Virtues, therefore, do not have divine origin, but arise out of one's own selfish nature.

Now Hobbes had interpreted good and evil in terms of man's appetites and aversions. "Every man, for his own part," says Hobbes, "calleth that which pleaseth and is delightful to him, good; and that ~~evil~~ which displeaseth him.... And as we call good and evil the things that please and displease; so call we goodness and badness, the qualities or powers whereby they do it..."¹⁵ For Hobbes, like Mandeville, the laws of morality are not immutable in character or divine in origin. Against such a view the ethical rationalists had argued vigorously throughout the latter seventeenth and first quarter or more of the eighteenth century. Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, had written as early as 1699:

Est igitur quaedam aeterna atque immutabilis Lex Deo hominibusque quoddammodo communis, quae Recta Ratio dicitur... Ex hac autem suprema immutabilique Lege omnia derivantur Jura...¹⁶

¹⁴ *Fable*, I, 51.

¹⁵ Hobbes, Thomas, *Works*, 10 Vols. (Molesworth ed., London, 1839-41) IV, 32.

¹⁶ More, Henry, *Enchiridion Ethicum*, (2 ed., London, 1699), p. 100.

Richard Cumberland in his *De Legibus Naturae* (1672), Ralph Cudworth in *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678), and various others had argued for the existence of immutable moral laws that were divine in origin. Gilbert Burnet in 1728 sums up the matter thus:

In the divine Mind the ideas of Moral Good and Evil must be immutably fixed. . . Moral Good and Evil have an immutable Foundation in the Nature of Things; as immutable as the Truths of Geometry have, which even the Divine Mind cannot be conceived to alter.¹⁷

The ethical rationalists not only opposed Hobbes' view that there is no immutable and eternal moral law in the very nature of things but also they undertook to prove that Hobbes' view of human nature as being utterly selfish was likewise false. They maintained that there was a moral law of benevolence operating in the lives of men comparable to the law of gravitation working in the physical world. Richard Cumberland, as early as 1672, had written:

Almost all those Causes, therefore, which are under the least influence of Man, and capable of being moved into Action by him; upon an equal Foundation of Reason it is manifest that the motions arising from the Universal Benevolence of all rational Beings toward All, are the most prevailing Cause of that universal Happiness which all enjoy: and from which universal Happiness essentially flows the private Beatitude or Bliss of each.¹⁸

This belief in universal benevolence as a definite law in the moral world found expression in many ethical writers from the 1670's on far into the eighteenth century. An interesting statement of the law was made by Francis Hutcheson in 1725 at a time when the Mandeville-Shaftesbury controversy was going full swing in England. Hutcheson wrote:

This universal Benevolence toward all Men, we may compare to that Principle of Gravitation, which perhaps extends to all Bodys in the *Universe*; but, like the love of Benevolence, increases as the *Distance* is diminish'd, and is *strongest* when Bodys come to *touch* each other. Now this increase of Attraction upon nearer Approach, is as necessary to the *Frame* of the Universe, as that there should be any Attraction at all: For a *general Attraction*, equal in all distances, would by the *Contrariety* of such multitudes of equal *Forces*, put an end to all Regularity of motion, and perhaps stop it altogether.¹⁹

¹⁷Burnet, Gilbert, *Letters between... Burnet and Hutcheson* (London, 1735).

¹⁸Cumberland, Richard, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Laws of Nature* (1672), trans. by John Towers, Dublin, 1750, p. 164.

¹⁹Hutcheson, Francis, *An Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, (London, 1725), pp. 198-99.

As pointed out earlier, by 1714 Mandeville had already expressed views in the Hobbesian tradition that might well have aroused bitter criticism of his ethical philosophy; nevertheless, it was not until 1723 that serious attention was given to him by those ethical writers who belonged to the tradition that supported a strong belief in a law of benevolence which manifested itself in the social affections of human-kind. What was it that really aroused such sudden interest in Mandeville in 1723 when the third edition of *The Fable* appeared? There were, as already pointed out, two new essays in this edition: *An Essay on Charity and Charity Schools* and *A Search into the Nature of Society*. Furthermore, the grand jury for the County of Middlesex declared the book a public nuisance designed to "run down Religion and Virtue as *prejudicial* to Society, and detrimental to the State; and to recommend Luxury, Avarice, Pride, and all kind of Vices, as being necessary to *Publick Welfare*...." ²⁰

It is most likely that it was Mandeville's opposition to the Charity Schools that stimulated the attack on him and led opponents to read his other writings more carefully with the result that the orthodox and conservative reading public was shocked into action. Mandeville did not believe that the Charity Schools had come about because of a dispassionate interest in the welfare of the children of the poor. He said that "Pride and Vanity have built more Hospitals Than all the Virtues together." ²¹ He pointed out that in a great state there was an abundance of dirty work to be done and that the children of the poor, since refined and elegant hands would not do the job, were a social necessity. He observed that in a well-ordered society "a certain Portion of Ignorance" is necessary. ²² Why educate a child for a standard of living he will never be able to enjoy?

Mandeville's analysis of the "Nature of Society" was just as devastating. Here he meets head on the views concerning virtue and the social affections which the Third Earl of Shaftesbury had so enthusiastically championed in such works as his *Inquiry Concerning Virtue of Merit* (1699). Mandeville writes:

The Generality of Moralists and Philosophers have hitherto agreed that here could be no Virtue without Self-denial; but a late Author is of a contrary Opinion... He seems to require and expect Goodness in his Species, as we do a sweet Taste in Grapes and China Oranges, of which, if any of them are sour, we boldly pronounce that they are not come to that Perfection their Nature is capable of. ²³

²⁰Op. cit., p. 385.

²¹Ibid., p. 261.

²²Ibid., p. 322.

²³Ibid., p. 323.

Shaftesbury, according to Mandeville, regards all actions virtuous that look toward public good, and, all selfish actions he considered vice. "In respect to our Species he looks upon Virtue and Vice as permanent Realities that must ever be the same in all Countries and all Ages..."²⁴ Mandeville argues that the solidity of such views "is inconsistent with our daily Experience."²⁵ It is not "the good and amiable Qualities of Man that made him a social creature; in fact, no nation could be populous, rich, and flourishing "without the assistance of what we call Evil both Natural and Moral."²⁶ Just as fashions and customs change, so do Man's moral concepts. There is no such thing as certainty in morals. "What Men have learned," he says, "from their Infancy enslaves them, and the Force of Custom warps Nature, and at the same time imitates her in such a manner, that it is often difficult to know which of the two we are influenced by."²⁷

Professor Cecil Albert Moore says that "Mandeville had the annoying habit of stating unpleasant truths which polite society never mentions."²⁸ Such passages as the following from his *Search into the Nature of Society* must have struck his orthodox contemporaries as most unpleasant heresies:

In all Civil Societies Men are taught insensibly to be Hypocrites from their Cradle, no body dares to own that he gets by Publick Calamities, or even by the Loss of Private Persons. The Sexton would be stoned should he wish openly for the Death of the Parishioners, tho' everybody knew that he had nothing else to live on.²⁹

Luxurious spending for the welfare of society is necessary in a state that would be famed for greatness. Mandeville says that

it is the sensual Courtier that sets no Limits to his Luxury; the fickle Strumpet that invents new Fashions every Week; the haughty Duchess that in Equipage, Entertainments, and all her Behaviour would imitate a Princess; the profuse Rake and lavish Heir, that scatter about their Money without Wit or Judgment, buy everything they see, and either destroy or give it away the next Day, the Covetous and perjur'd Villain that squeez'd an immense Treasure from the Tears of Widows and Orphans, and left the Prodigals the Money to spend: It is these that are the Prey and proper Food of a full grown Leviathan; or in other words, such is the calamitous Condition of Human Affairs that we stand in need of the Plagues and Monsters I named to have all the Variety of Labour performed

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

²⁵ *Loc. Cit.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

²⁸ Moore, Cecil A., *English Prose of the Eighteenth Century* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1933), p. 403.

²⁹ Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

which the Skill of Men is capable of inventing in order to procure an honest Livelihood to the vast Multitudes of working poor, that are required to make a large Society: And it is folly to imagine that Great and Wealthy Nations can subsist, and be at once Powerful and Polite without.³⁰

He said he believed from his heart that the Reformation had not rendered the Nations that embraced it more flourishing than had "the silly and capricious Invention of Hoop'd and Quilted Petticoats."³¹ "Religion is one thing," says he, "and Trade is another. He that gives most Trouble to thousands of his Neighbours, and invents the most operose Manufactures is, right or wrong, the greatest Friend to the Society."³² Furthermore, great estates have been got by tea and coffee, and the maintenance of thousands of families "depend on two silly if not odious Customs; the taking of Snuff and smoking of Tobacco; both of which it is certain do infinitely more hurt than good to those that are addicted to them!"³³

Mandeville, in his *A Search into the Nature of Society*, never tires of driving home to his readers the implications of his paradox. He says that "the Seeds of all Arts, Industry and Labour" are not found in "the amiable Qualities of Man" but in Man's necessities, vices, and imperfections. To quote him again:

Hunger, Thirst and Nakedness are the first Tyrants that force us to stir: afterwards, our Pride, Sloth, Sensuality and Fickleness are the great patrons that promote all Arts and Sciences, Trades, Handicrafts and Callings; while the great Taskmasters, Necessity, Avarice, Envy, and Ambition, each in the class that belongs to him, keep the members of the Society to their labour, and make them all submit, most of them chearfully, to the Drudgery of their Station; Kings and Princes not excepted.³⁴

And to quote him once more and finally:

It is in Morality as it is in Nature, there is nothing so perfectly Good in Creatures that it cannot be hurtful to any one of the Society, nor any thing so entirely Evil, but it may prove beneficial to some part or other of the Creation: So that things are only Good and Evil in reference to something else, and according to the Light and

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 355-56.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 356.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

Position they are placed in...there never was any Rain yet, tho' in a very dry Season when Publick Prayers had been made for it, but somebody or other who wanted to go abroad wished it might be Fair Weather only for that Day.³⁵

Kaye has given some excellent summaries of criticism launched against Mandeville's thesis by men like William Law, Richard Fiddes, John Dennis, George Bluet, Bishop Berkeley, Adam Smith and others.³⁶ He shows that in spite of the vigorous attacks some of them made, most if not all of them were driven to compromising with the utilitarian aspects of Mandeville's ethical pronouncements, and their refutation really represented a development of his teachings.³⁷

An example of Kaye's compendious efforts to overlook nothing that might aid one in understanding the place of Mandeville has occupied, both in the thinking of his contemporaries and in the thinking of those who have come after him, is shown in the comprehensive list of references to Mandeville's work, which he has chronologically compiled.³⁸ Pertinent passages are frequently quoted and the following from J. G. von Herder (Leipsic, 1802) is typical of those who looked with jaundiced eye upon Mandeville's views of man and society:

Swift setzte den Yahoo's wenigstens seine ehrlichen Huynhms entgegen: Mandeville macht alle Stattsbürger zu Yahoo's nur in verschiedenen Masken and Functionen. Er vernichtet jede Blüthe der Menschheit, indem er sie, Samenlos gleichsam aus eiter und Gift entspriessen lässt---welche teuflische Schöpfung!.... Wird man ein Concert nennen, wo nicht nur jede Stimme falsch spielet, sondern wo auf dies falsche Spiel jeder Stimme die Wirking des Ganzen berechnet seyn soll? Eben so wenig kann eine Zusammensetzung von Missformen, politisch and philosophisch, je ein System heissen. Eine fata Morgana ists, ein hässlicher Traum!³⁹

In concluding this discussion of Mandeville as the high priest of paradox, I can say very little if anything that others, and Kaye best of all, have not already said and said quite well. I trust I have belabored the paradoxical theme sufficiently to leave little doubt as to what Mandeville believed and preached. As pointed out before, Mandeville was not in many ways an original thinker. He echoed tradition in sundry passages. For example, the following passage from one of Montaigne's little essays sounds quite Mandevillian where the French writer notes that "no man can profit except by the loss of others... The merchant thrives by the extravagance of youth; the husbandman by the

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

³⁶ *The Fable*, II, 401-417.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 418-53.

³⁹ Quoted by Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

shortage of corn; the architect by the ruin of houses; the lawyer by lawsuits and controversies between men. Honor itself and the practice of religious ministers rely upon our death and vices." ⁴⁰

Mandeville, let it be said again, was not strikingly original in what he had to say but he had a genius for portraying in clever phrase and striking example certain ideas that, thanks to him, found vigorous expression in certain works produced at later periods. In his defense of luxury, says Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, Mandeville voiced most of the ideas once considered original in Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*. ⁴¹ Lovejoy also points out that Mandeville anticipated certain views in modern psychology in his discussion of how man rationalizes his conduct to prevent being criticized. ⁴² R. H. Tawney, as late as 1926, wrote about the change that had taken place between the Middle Ages and the beginning of the eighteenth century in that society had swung from a control by moral force to one by economic control. ⁴³ Mandeville had stressed in his work the part that economic forces, especially trade, played in controlling society. In fact, it was his treatment of the ethics of business that aroused many voices against him. His emphasis upon free trade, upon division of labor, and similar themes was to be echoed later in the works of political economists like Adam Smith. Furthermore, he was to stimulate the ethical thinking of Hume, Smith, Rousseau, and others. One of the most impressive ideas which he stressed and one which fitted in well with later views on the subject was his idea concerning the rise of society by a slow process of evolution, with many forces contributing to produce modern civilization. Sir Leslie Stephens commends Mandeville for stressing the view that religion grew out of natural fetichism and that an accumulation of various forces working slowly through many ages produced society as we know it today. ⁴⁴

As one turns the pages of Mandeville's writings, many interesting observations on a variety of topics, ranging over the whole field of human interest -- money, sex, modesty, rearing children, gin drinking, avarice, envy, fashions, and most of the usual foibles of mankind -- arise to challenge attention. It is hoped that this discussion, in a small way at least, has reported the learned doctor's cause aright. No attempt has been made to do more than call attention once again to an able work of scholarship by a meticulous student of the history of ideas and in so doing to introduce to those who know him not a writer of the early eighteenth century who probed deeply and well striving to get the motives of human conduct.

⁴⁰*The World's Great Thinkers: Man and Man; the Social Philosophers*, ed. by Saxe Comenius and Robert N. Linscott (Random House, New York, 1947), p. 359.

⁴¹*The Fable...*, II, 452. This statement appeared in a letter to Kaye by Professor Lovejoy.

⁴²*Loc. Cit.*

⁴³Tawney, R. H., *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. Murry, London, Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1926.

⁴⁴Stephens, Sir Leslie, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 40.

Public Policy and Mississippi Industrial Growth, 1865-1880

by

Mary Frances W. Dykes

Part II

During the reconstruction era, politicians known as carpetbaggers and scalawags controlled the government of Mississippi for several years before native Mississippians regained power. The state suffered greatly at the hands of the reconstruction officials, the majority of whom were concerned with their own selfish interests. Although corruption in the state government in the early 1870's was quite common, some honest and able men held office. Governors James L. Alcorn and Ridgley C. Powers, who held the chief executive's post during the first four years under the Radical Constitution of 1869, were exceptional examples of upright conscientious officials.¹

The legislature of 1871, the first under the Radical Constitution, was concerned primarily with making provisions for railroad building and for leasing the penitentiary. However, that body was responsible for action which later proved to be important to the industrial progress of the state. It was in that year that John T. Hardie, William Oliver and others were granted a charter to operate the Mississippi Mills, formerly owned and operated by James M. Wesson. Hardie and Oliver, New Orleans businessmen, purchased the land in Copiah County, the manufacturing machinery, and the chartered franchises and privileges of the Mississippi Manufacturing Company. The legislature granted the Mississippi Mills the right to manufacture cotton and woolen fabrics and textiles of any other kind, to make machinery, to saw lumber, and to buy and sell goods of any description. The charter provided for a capital stock of \$250,000 but by a mistake in enrolling the bill, the figure was raised to \$550,000. The act so enrolled was signed by the speaker of the house, the president of the senate, and the governor. Several days later, however, the legislature passed an amendment to the act limiting the capital stock to \$250,000, thus correcting the mistake made in enrolling the bill. The real and personal property of the company was to be assessed and taxed at the same rate as similar property of individual citizens.²

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¹Garner, *Reconstruction*, 279, 281, 291; Sydnor and Bennett, *Mississippi History*, 193, 196.

²Mississippi, *Laws*, 1871, 770-775; 457; Garner, *Reconstruction*, 288.

Another enterprise chartered in 1870, with capital stock of \$250,000, was the Edwards Cotton and Woolen Manufacturing Company at Edwards Depot in Hinds County. It was granted the privilege for fifty years to manufacture cotton and woolen yarns and fabrics, meal, lumber, and woodwork. The Columbus Manufacturing Company, capitalized at \$200,000, was also granted a fifty-year charter to produce goods of cotton, wool, and iron by steam or water power. The officers of the company were authorized to erect machinery at any place in Lowndes County for manufacturing purposes and to establish agencies for the sale of the products at any place in the state. No license was required to sell the goods. The company was given the right to build a bridge across the Tombigbee River at the city of Columbus, and the enterprise was granted the use of all public roads or streets leading to and from that bridge without charge. The corporation was authorized to collect tolls for use of the bridge, as provided by law or by the board of supervisors of Lowndes County.³

Two enterprises chartered in 1871 with larger amounts of capital stock were the North Mississippi Cotton and Woolen Manufacturing Company, each capitalized at \$500,000. The North Mississippi Company was granted a fifty-year charter to manufacture cotton and woolen yarns and fabrics, cotton-seed and lard oil, oil cake, flour, meal, lumber, cotton and iron machinery, woodwork, glass and earthenware. In 1873 the company was authorized to issue ten-year bonds at a rate of interest not to exceed eight percent. The amount of bonds issued could not exceed the amount of capital stock the company held. Real estate, not to exceed \$100,000 in value, could be received in payment for stock in the company. The legislature granted the Phoenixburg Company the authority to manufacture any article "whatever [that] a... person would by law be allowed to make" by any kind of power available. The company could establish agencies for the disposition of goods in any state or territory of the United States or in any foreign country. It could deal in foreign and domestic exchange.⁴

The San Rafael Silver Mining Company, capitalized at \$2,000,000, was the largest industrial enterprise chartered in 1871. John H. Harris and Jules A. Randle of Mexico were owners of three silver mines in that country. They wished to form a company for the purpose of more fully developing these mines. These two men from Mexico, one Texan, and six Mississippians were the incorporators of that company. The principal business office of the company was to be in the town of Water Valley in Yalobusha County.⁵

³Mississippi, *Laws*, 1871, 438-441; 453-456.

⁴*Ibid.*, 449; 425-429; *Ibid.*, 1873, 362. In 1870 a charter was granted to a North Mississippi Cotton and Woolen Manufacturing Company. Apparently, that charter was never executed. The governor refused to sign the act which granted the charter to the Phoenixburg Company, but the bill became a law without the governor's signature.

⁵*Ibid.*, 1871, 509-513.

Six industries with smaller amounts of capital stock ranging from \$25,000 down to \$10,000 were chartered in the same year. The North Mississippi Manufacturing and Immigration Company, capitalized at \$25,000, was given a charter for ninety-nine years to manufacture articles of machinery, farming implements, household articles, and wearing apparel from cotton, wool, or other material. It could trade in all kinds of goods. The company also had authority to encourage immigrants to come to Mississippi and to procure lands for them. The principal office of the company was to be at Holly Springs in Marshall County, but it could be moved to any place in the state when factories of the enterprise were established in the various counties. Another corporation with the same amount of capital stock was the Okolona Manufacturing Company. It had the right to produce textiles, cottonseed and lard oil, fertilizers, cotton and iron machinery, iron castings, and woodwork. The capital stock, property, assets, and revenue of the corporation were to be taxed by order of the legislature. Two other textile enterprises were the Chewalla Mills Company, capitalized at \$12,000, and the Holly Springs Manufacturing Company, with capital stock of \$10,000, both located in Marshall County. The Chewalla Mills were to manufacture cotton and woolen yarns and fabrics, flour, and meal. Stock in that company could be paid for in real or personal property or in cash. The Holly Springs Company was to produce cotton and woolen yarns and fabrics, cottonseed and lard oil, meal, fertilizer, lumber, cotton, and iron machinery, iron castings and woodwork. Its capital stock, property, assets, and income were liable for taxes imposed by the legislature not to exceed the tax imposed on real estate.⁶

The Oxford Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Company, capitalized at \$10,000, was authorized to employ tanners and boot and shoe makers, to purchase leather and other necessary articles, and to make boots and shoes. The manufactured goods could be sold at wholesale or retail in any domestic or foreign market. The duration of the charter was for twenty-five years. The Vicksburg Pioneer Manufacturing Company, to be located at Vicksburg, was chartered for the purpose of manufacturing a "patent composition for roofing, coping, paving and tiles."⁷

The legislature of 1871 gave to B. L. Stockton, Susannah J. Stockton, and W. A. Stockton authority to erect a mill in Kemper County to be known as the Stockton Mill and Machine Company. It was to be located on the headwaters of Oktibbeha Creek. Power derived from the waters of that creek could be used for thirty years for manufacturing purposes. The privilege of raising a levee or dam to any height necessary for the operations of the company was granted to the owners. Two other mills similar to the Stockton Mill were authorized. S. H. Wood and Frank Souter were given the right to erect a

⁶*Ibid.*, 445-447; 430-432; 441-443. In 1867 a charter was granted to an enterprise known as the Okolona Manufacturing Company. Evidently, if that charter was ever put into effect, the concern did not long survive. The act which granted a charter to the Holly Springs Manufacturing Company became a law without the governor's signature.

⁷*Ibid.*, 436-438; 447-449.

mill and cotton gin on Toccopola Creek in Pontotoc County. They could attach to the mill any machinery for manufacturing purposes. They were granted the privilege of building a dam across Toccopola Creek and of cutting a race from the dam to the millsite. The other mill of a similar type was to be in Leake County. E. J. Landrum and William T. Landrum were authorized to erect a cotton gin, sawmill, and gristmill on Levee Creek, and to build a dam for operational purposes. Any damages caused by the construction of the dam were to be paid by the proprietors to the parties suffering the damages. The owners also had the privilege of attaching to their mill machinery for any kind of manufacturing purposes.⁸

The acts of 1871 that chartered the Planters Manufacturing and Mechanical Association of Mississippi and confirmed and amended the charter of the Sardis Agricultural and Mechanical Society of Mississippi were designed to encourage the manufacturing and other economic interests of the state. The purpose of the Planters Association, capitalized at \$30,000, was to promote agriculture, manufacturing, and mechanical arts by holding fairs and awarding prizes for the best exhibits. The association was to use "lands belonging to the state east of the capital and west of Pearl River" for the purpose of holding fairs. The state subsidized the organization in the amount of \$9,000 to be used to complete buildings, to prepare grounds, and to provide premiums for superior exhibits. The charter also provided that when ten or more persons organized county associations auxiliary to the state organization, each of the local units would receive \$200 from the state with which to pay premiums at the county fairs. The legislature reserved the right to take possession of the entire association for the benefit of the state if it saw fit to do so. The Sardis Society, with capital stock limited to \$20,000, was domiciled near Sardis in Panola County. Its objective was to promote improvements in agriculture, mechanical arts, manufacturing, and in "all enterprises of a kindred nature." The board of supervisors of Panola County were authorized to subscribe for \$2,500 worth of stock in the Society in the name of that county. All stock and all property of the organization were exempt from county or state taxes.⁹

Ridgley C. Powers became governor of Mississippi on November 30, 1871, upon the resignation of James L. Alcorn whom the legislature had chosen to be a United States senator. In a message to the Mississippi Legislature shortly thereafter, Governor Powers stated that some of the confusion relating to reconstruction that had existed earlier had now been suppressed, and that Mississippians were then "free to devote their attention and energies to bettering their material condition." ¹⁰

⁸ *Ibid.*, 508-509; 434-435; 44-45. The acts which chartered the Wood and Souter Mill and the Landrum Mill became laws without the governor's signature.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 628-632; 632-637. The original charter of the Sardis Agricultural and Mechanical Society of Mississippi had been granted in 1869 by Governor Ames.

¹⁰ Mississippi, *House Journal* (Appendix), 1872, 1-2.

When the legislature met in 1872, it passed an act to encourage the introduction of machinery and factories into the state. It was believed that the construction of factories and the erection of machinery for the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods and for making farm machinery and implements would benefit the state by helping to develop its resources; by bringing in capital; by providing employment for many Mississippians; and by increasing the value of property within the state, thereby enabling the government to increase its revenue without imposing additional taxes. The policy initiated by that act was to appropriate and set aside all taxes thereafter collected from new manufacturing concerns and apply that amount of money in payment of debts the company might have incurred in the construction of its factories. To be eligible for the benefits of the act, a company had to have a paid in capital stock of at least \$10,000, and the enterprise was not to have been in operation before the passage of the act. When, after debts were paid, a company became financially able to pay its stockholders an annual dividend of four percent on its capital stock, the provisions of the act would no longer apply to that company.¹¹ The legislature of 1872 further revealed interest in the development of manufacturing, mechanics, and agriculture by making an appropriation of \$4,500 to the Planters Manufacturing and Mechanical Association of Mississippi, chartered the year before. The money was for the purpose of enabling the association to hold its next annual fair.¹²

An act to encourage the growing of wool in Mississippi was passed by the legislature of 1872. Realizing that wool growers had difficulty in getting their product to market, the legislature, in order to facilitate the marketing of wool, made it lawful for any person to "trade or traffic" in any county within the state for wool without paying a license for that privilege provided the wool, which could be paid for in money or manufactured goods, was sold to manufacturers to be made into goods within the state.¹³

In the next year the East Mississippi and West Alabama Planter's Manufacturing and Mechanics Association, with capital stock of \$7,000, was chartered. Its objective was to encourage and improve agriculture, manufacturing, and mechanical arts. The organization was granted the privilege of holding annual fairs at which articles could be sold at auction. A commission not exceeding five percent on sales was to be collected from the owners of the property sold. The domicile of the association was to be at Columbus in Lowndes County. The district represented by that association was to include the counties of Lowndes, Noxubee, Winston, Monroe, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Alcorn, Prentiss, Lee, and any other neighboring counties that had no organized fair association. The organization was authorized to draw \$200

¹¹Mississippi, *Laws*, 1872, 65-67.

¹²*Ibid.*, 141-142.

¹³*Ibid.*, 140-141.

from the state treasury for each county represented at its annual fair. That money was to be used to pay premiums. Citizens from counties other than Lowndes were to have equal rights in the distribution of prizes. Like other associations of its kind, the property of the organization was to be exempt from all county and state taxes.¹⁴

Only two manufacturing enterprises were incorporated by the overwhelmingly Republican legislature of 1873. The Peachwood Mills Company, capitalized at \$100,000, was given authority to saw lumber, construct portable houses, make agricultural implements, grind meal and manufacture articles of wool, wood, and earth. The company could sell or dispose of its products as it wishes. A foundry business known as the Irene Manufacturing Company of Holly Springs was the other enterprise granted a charter in 1873. The business, with a capital stock of \$75,000, could also manufacture articles of wood, stone, cotton or wool.¹⁵

Laws were passed in 1873 to give relief to several enterprises that had been chartered in former years. The act approved in 1872 to encourage the introduction of machinery and the establishment of factories in the state was extended to the Mississippi Mills. The provisions and benefits of the act were to be a part of the charter of that enterprise and would apply to each department of the company. Those same rights were also extended to the Stonewall Cotton Factory and to the Perkinsville Manufacturing Company. The latter company had incurred a considerable debt in the purchase of machinery and other property necessary to its operation and wanted to buy more efficient machinery for the manufacture of cotton fabrics. Moreover, the company had not been able, theretofore, to declare any dividend whatsoever. In 1871 the Parksville Manufacturing Company of Lauderdale County had been assessed and had paid twice the amount of state and county taxes that should have been levied against it. To correct that mistake the legislature authorized the state auditor of public accounts to issue warrants for \$88 in favor of the company. Furthermore, the legislature directed the board of supervisors of Lauderdale County to order a warrant on the treasurer of that county for \$376 in favor of the Parksville Company.¹⁶

The legislature of 1873 was responsible for the act which created the office of commissioner of immigration and agriculture. That law provided that a commissioner would be elected in joint convention of the House and the Senate. The person elected was to take the oath required of all other public officers in the state and to make a \$10,000 bond. He was to hold office for a term of four years with a salary of \$2,000 per year to be paid quarterly out of

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1873, 471-474.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 461-462; 476-477.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 212, 303, 261.

the state treasury. He was allowed one clerk, if needed, at a salary of \$1,000 annually. The office of the commissioner was to be in the capitol building at Jackson. Some of the duties outlined for the commissioner were to initiate and put into operation a practical plan for the introduction of sober and industrious immigrants into Mississippi; to open correspondence with immigration agencies and steamship companies; to publish information revealing the inducements which Mississippi offered as a home to immigrants; to keep a record of persons wanting jobs and places desiring labor; to make suitable arrangements to receive immigrants upon their arrival; and to transport them to their destination. No discrimination in favor of or against an immigrant was to be made because of his race or color. Any person who had been convicted of crime was not to be aided by the commissioner. He was to make an annual report to the governor giving an account of the transactions of his office, including an itemized statement of the money spent. He was not to spend more than \$10,000 annually in discharging his duties. On April 15, 1873, the House and Senate met in joint convention, and the next day on the ninth ballot, elected Richard Griggs, a Negro, to be Mississippi's first commissioner of immigration and agriculture.¹⁷

An act amendatory to the act of 1873 which created the Bureau of Immigration and Agriculture was approved on April 6, 1874. As required by the amendment, the commissioner of immigration and agriculture would cause to be printed a description of all lands held by the state for taxes and all lands held by the United States which were open for entry in Mississippi under the homestead laws of the United States. The cost of the printing was not to exceed \$3,000. The commissioner was also directed to report to the governor the number of immigrants who had come into the state, their nationality, the location of the land occupied by them, and the number of acres settled. It was provided that every head of a family who settled on public lands and who resided and cultivated it for two consecutive years could buy one hundred and sixty acres of state lands. If he could pay for the land within four years, his title to it would be made secure. It was further enacted that, if needed, the commissioner could appoint one or more assistants, and that \$2,000 would be appropriated, if necessary, to carry out that provision of the act.¹⁸

In his first annual report to Governor Powers, Commissioner Griggs explained that for lack of an appropriation, he had been able to perform only a few of the duties assigned to him by the legislature. He stated that he had been able neither to open up correspondence with immigration agents and transit companies nor to publish information sufficient to induce immigrants to come to Mississippi. He reported that he had established his office in the capitol at Jackson, however, and had made such investigation as his salary would allow. Griggs submitted a recommendation for an appropriation "to enable the com-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 103-105; *Mississippi, Senate Journal*, 1873, pp. 1788, 1804.

¹⁸ *Mississippi, Laws*, 1874, 62-65.

missioner to carry out the duties imposed upon him by the act creating and establishing a Bureau of Immigration and Agriculture." ¹⁹

In January, 1874, Governor Powers' term of office expired. In a farewell address to the legislature on January 20 of that year, he observed, "I have chiefly to regret that it has been within my power to do so little for the advancement of the state. I trust it will be the privilege of my successor to do much more. Slumbering resources surround us on every side.... Home production, home industry, and home enterprise need encouragement.—such encouragement as good government, economically administered, alone can give." ²⁰

Adelbert Ames succeeded Powers as governor of Mississippi. In his inaugural address of January 22, 1874, he revealed a distinct understanding of and concern for the state's lack of progress toward industrialization.

Within a population of nearly a million we have none, comparatively speaking, engaged in manufacturing. With unlimited supplies of raw materials at our doors, we send abroad for our farming implements, our household furniture, and the thousand and one articles used in daily life. The cotton we raise is returned to us in manufactured goods for which we pay, in addition to the cost of manufacture, the transportation to and fro, and the charges of the many agents through whose hands it passes. Mississippi might become an important manufacturing state if the people willed it. Capital and skill are necessary and will come if properly encouraged... ²¹

Governor Ames expressed confidence that Mississippi could sincerely invite manufacturers and "assure them of... sympathy and cooperation." ²² When, however, an act to encourage the manufacture of "goods, wares, and merchandise" in the counties of Hinds and Rankin was presented to him for his approval, he rejected the bill because it authorized the issuance of large amounts of bonds by those counties for the benefit of private corporations. To redeem those bonds, a special tax would have been required. That, he believed, was a perversion of the taxing powers of the government. After receiving this message from Ames, the legislature failed to pass the bill. The Republican legislatures of 1874 and 1875 accomplished little in promoting manufacturing development in Mississippi. However, one law to protect wool growers was passed. It was made lawful for any person to kill all dogs found chasing or eating sheep in Jackson, Harrison, and Hancock counties. The owners of sheep-killing dogs were to be held responsible for all damages done by them. ²³

¹⁹Mississippi, *Senate Journal*, 1874, 535-538.

²⁰Mississippi, *House Journal*, 1874, 21-22.

²¹*Ibid.*, 31.

²²*Idem.*

²³Mississippi, *Senate Journal*, 1875, 205-206; Mississippi, *Laws*, 1875, 126-127.

Under Ames' leadership the state suffered more than at any other time during the period of reconstruction, for he seemed to ignore the corruption in government. The rate of taxation for state purposes had increased from one mill on the dollar in 1869 to fourteen in 1874. The property owners could not meet such an enormous increase in taxation. The state was on the verge of bankruptcy. At that time, the leaders of the Democratic party of Mississippi decided that many of the men then holding office in the state would have to be changed before existing conditions could improve. Consequently, on August 3, 1875, the Democrats nominated their candidates and set out to win the November election. Perhaps L. Q. C. Lamar was the man most responsible for the overwhelming Democratic victory in November, 1875. His great speech in Congress eulogizing Charles Sumner had the effect of erasing many of the grudges and prejudices that the Democrats and Republicans had held against each other, thereby bringing about greater national unity. The election result of 1875 ended carpetbag rule in the state and marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Mississippi.²⁴

The legislature chosen in 1875, composed of a number of prominent Mississippians, ranked as one of the most outstanding in the history of the state. Most of the legislation enacted by that body was wise and, above all, economical. Through its action, the hope of the people for sane government was realized. Soon after it convened in Jackson on January 4, 1876, the legislature began impeachment proceedings against Governor Ames and other state officials who were charged with corruption in government. Ames was permitted to resign to avoid prosecution.²⁵ John M. Stone, Democratic Speaker of the House, succeeded Ames.

The new governor and the legislature of 1876 placed economy in state government above all other considerations. Many offices and agencies that were considered useless were abolished. Salaries of officials were lowered, fees for public services were cut, and appropriations of money for various purposes were reduced. The state tax was reduced from nine and one half to six and one half mills on the dollar in 1876.²⁶ An example of Bourbon economy was the drastic reduction of the salary of the commissioner of immigration and agriculture from \$2,000 to \$100 per year. He was no longer allowed to employ any office clerk at public expense. The law authorizing him to spend \$10,000 annually in performance of his duties was repealed.²⁷

The legislature of 1876 passed an act to prevent the manufacture or sale of impure candies. No person could manufacture or sell any candy in which "terra alba, or any other preparation of lime," or injurious drug or

²⁴Garner, *Reconstruction*, 296, 396.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 403-407; 413.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 411-412.

²⁷Mississippi, *Laws*, 1876, 26-27.

mineral had been used. Any person violating that act would be fined \$1500, or be imprisoned for sixty days, or both.²⁸

In 1877 the San Rafael Silver Mining Company, first chartered in 1871, was authorized to hold property to the amount of \$50,000,000. Also, offices of the company could be established at any place in Mexico or in the United States. All other provisions inconsistent with this act were repealed.

The legislature of 1877 passed an act to charter for fifty years the Amite County Manufacturing Company, capitalized at \$50,000. The company was given the right to manufacture cotton and woolen yarns and fabrics, cottonseed and lard oil, oil cake, flour, meal, cotton and iron machinery, and woodwork.²⁹

The law to encourage the introduction of machinery and factories into the state, first passed in 1872, was amended in 1877. No property of any manufacturing company except the paid in capital stock, the manufacturing machinery, the manufactured goods, the buildings for machinery, and the site of the factory, were to be exempt from state, county, or municipal taxes.³⁰

Governor Stone was inaugurated for a full term in 1878. For the first time in the history of the state the members of both houses of the legislature belonged almost entirely to the Democratic party.³¹ Several acts designed to stimulate the industrial progress of the state were passed by the legislature of 1878. The Natchez Cotton Mills Company, capitalized at \$100,000, was granted a charter to manufacture cotton and woolen goods. This company had the largest capital stock of any industrial enterprise chartered that year and was the only concern created to produce textiles alone. A charter was granted to the Wanita Mills Manufacturing Company in Lauderdale County to manufacture lumber, flour, and meal, and cotton, woolen wood, iron, and brass products. That company, with a capital stock of \$50,000, was authorized to establish an office for business and depot purposes at Enterprise in Clarke County. Tax exemption, as provided for in the act of 1872 and its amendments to encourage the introduction of machinery and factories into the state, was extended to the Wanita Mills. The only other manufacturing company chartered in 1878 to produce cotton and woolen yarns and fabrics was the Byram Fertilizer Manufacturing Company, of Hinds County, with a capital stock of \$20,000. The principal product of the company, however, as its name implied, was fertilizer. It was also given the right to make farm machinery and cottonseed oil.³²

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 65-66.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1877, 237-240.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 72-73.

³¹ Mississippi, *House Journal*, 1878, 34.

³² Mississippi, *Laws*, 1878, 611-612; 631-632; 592-594.

Two other cottonseed oil mills were incorporated in 1878. One was the West Point Oil Works, with capital stock of \$30,000, located at West Point in Clay County. This enterprise had authority to manufacture oil and oil cake from cottonseed. The other mill was Friar's Point Oil Mill Company located at Friar's Point in Coahoma County. The company, capitalized at \$20,000, was to manufacture oil from cottonseed, to gin cotton, and to produce meal and flour. The corporation was chartered for ninety-nine years.³³

The Bogue Chitto Lumber Company was given authority in 1878 to produce rough and dressed lumber and to operate a public gristmill. The enterprise was authorized to issue capital stock in the amount of \$20,000. A wood-work factory to be located at Vicksburg was incorporated the same year. It was the Spengler Manufacturing Company capitalized at only \$10,000. It had the right to manufacture and sell any article that could be made of wood. In 1878 the Soctohoma Mill, owned and operated for twenty years by William Hill, was incorporated as a public gristmill and cotton gin by the legislature. Hill was to have free use of the water as it then flowed to the mill. Any person guilty of obstructing the flow would be liable for damages. That charter, however, was not long in effect, for in 1880 the legislature repealed the 1878 act of incorporation. The gristmill and cotton gin established by D. T. Marion of Chickasaw County at his own expense was declared by the legislature of 1878 as a public mill to be known as Marion Mills.³⁴

An act to encourage the growing of grapes and the manufacture of wine was passed in 1878. A person growing grapes could manufacture wine and sell it without paying any license tax provided that when sold in smaller quantities than one gallon it should be put in bottles containing not less than one pint. The wine manufactured and sold was subject to inspection by a chemist. Any person found guilty of adulteration would be fined or imprisoned.³⁵

A State Board of Immigration was created by the legislature of 1878. It was to be composed of three members: the commissioner of immigration and agriculture who was to be the presiding officer, the secretary of state, and the state treasurer. The duties of the commissioner were similar to those prescribed for him in 1873 when the office was first created. His salary under the new law was to be \$1200 annually. The board was to prepare books, with maps, describing separately the various counties in the state and giving information as to the churches, schools, soil, climate, health conditions, products, labor, transportation facilities, and mill and factory sites. Furthermore, the board was to submit a complete report biennially to the legislature stating the methods used to carry out the objectives of the act. It was to show the results

³³*Ibid.*, 634; 600-601.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 590-592; 614-616; *Ibid.*, 1880, 607.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 1878, 91.

of the board's work and to give statistical information in regard to the number of immigrants that had come to the state. The board was to make a quarterly report to the governor. An appropriation of \$2500 was set aside for use by the board in performing its duties. The law also provided for the organization of county associations of immigration. If five or more citizens of a county associated themselves together for the purpose of aiding and encouraging immigration into the county, they would be designated as a county association of immigration. The county organizations were to report to the State Board of Immigration the first week in December of each year. The board of supervisors of Panola County was authorized to appropriate \$500 annually from the county treasury for the purpose of forming immigration associations in that county.³⁶

The political policy of the Bourbon Democrats after 1875 was generally encouraging to industrial expansion in the state. In addition to tax exemption for industries provided by laws passed in 1872 and in 1873, the legislature of 1880 gave additional exemptions to include houses of factory officers and operatives; streets, churches and schools maintained for mill employees; and warehouses and storehouses of manufacturing companies. The legislature of 1880 incorporated thirteen industries with authorized capital stock ranging from \$150,000 down to \$2,500. The Vicksburg Cotton Mills Company, capitalized at \$150,000 and to be located near the city of Vicksburg, was the largest manufacturing enterprise chartered that year. It had authority to manufacture lumber, flour, and meal, and cotton, woolen, wood, iron, and brass products. Mills or agencies for carrying on business could be set up in any part of the state.³⁷

Three enterprises were capitalized at \$100,000 each. Stephen D. Lee and others, in the name of the Tombigbee Manufacturing Company of Columbus, were given the right to produce goods of cotton or wool by water, steam, or any other power. The Rosalie Yarn Mills Company of Natchez was also authorized to use any power available to produce yarns, warps, and other products of cotton or wool. The Planters Manufacturing and Compress Company of Jackson was chartered for twenty years to operate a compress, and to manufacture cotton and woolen goods, furniture, wagons, and shoes. The company had authority to conduct a cooperative store in Jackson.³⁸

Enterprises capitalized at \$75,000 and less incorporated in 1880 included smaller textile factories, cottonseed oil mills, and companies producing miscellaneous goods. Near Oxford was the location for the Oxford Mills Company. Its purpose was to manufacture cotton and woolen fabrics, and to make machinery of any description. The company could erect buildings and machinery at any place in Lafayette County. Agencies for the sale and purchase of goods could be established anywhere in Mississippi or beyond state limits. The Port Gibson Cotton Mills in Claiborne County was granted a fifty-

³⁶*Ibid.*, 125-129; 349-350.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 1880, 178-179; 536-537.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 567-570; 586; 556-558.

year charter to make fabrics of cotton or wool and to grind corn and wheat for the public. A legislative act of 1880 incorporated the Hashuqua Manufacturing Company of Noxubee County for the purpose of producing cotton and woolen fabrics. The charter was to be in force for fifty years.³⁹ The East Mississippi Mills were granted the authority to possess the lands recently owned by the Pioneer Manufacturing Company near Meridian for the operation of a cotton and woolen factory. That enterprise could also manufacture goods of iron, brass, wood or other material. Another industry incorporated in 1880 was the Buchanan Flouring Mills and Manufacturing Company of Calhoun County. It was given the right to produce cotton and woolen yarns, wool rolls, cotton and woolen fabrics, lumber, flour, and meal.⁴⁰

The Holly Springs Oil Mill and Cotton Company, to be located at Holly Springs in Marshall County, and the Columbus Oil Mills in Lowndes County were granted charters in 1880. The Holly Springs Mill was to manufacture cottonseed oil, oil cake, cotton yarns and woolen goods. Manufacturing by the company could be carried on at more than one place at a time. Agencies for the company might be established anywhere in the state. The Columbus Mills were to produce cottonseed oil, oil cake, lint from cotton seed, and fertilizer. Charters were granted to the Coahoma Manufacturing Company at Glendale, and to the Meridian Manufacturing Company to produce various kinds of goods. Both enterprises had authority to manufacture and sell all "sorts of produce, goods, wares, and merchandise." The Coahoma Company was authorized to operate a cooperative store in Glendale, while the Meridian Company could set up a similar one in Meridian.⁴¹

Primarily because of a favorable political policy toward industry, legislation of the 1870's was generally encouraging to the expansion of manufacturing in Mississippi. Although the census figures indicate a fairly static situation from 1870 to 1880, the decline in the price level of approximately thirty eight percent in that decade conceals some of the real increase in capital invested and in products manufactured that took place in the 1870's. Actually, capital invested showed a small increase in spite of the decline in the price level. The industrial growth in Mississippi during the first fifteen years after the Civil War had been most encouraging, especially when it is realized that its stature had been gained almost entirely since 1865.

It is difficult to determine the specific extent of industrial development effected by public policy as manifested in acts of the state legislature. The industrial progress in Mississippi during the first fifteen years after the Civil War, although not too impressive when compared to national figures, was almost

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 596-598; 589-592; 594-596. Perhaps the same Hashuqua Company of Noxubee County was granted a charter for fifty years by the legislature of 1867.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 605-607; 602-604.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 582-586; 570; 604-605; 686-687.

phenomenal when one considers the conditions at the end of the war, the difficulties of economic readjustment after the war, and the crippling effect of a panic that extended over the last half of the period. It is logical to assume that much of this industrial growth would not have taken place if public policy had not been moderately friendly toward the development of manufacturing enterprises. Also, favorable governmental policies toward railroads encouraged rapid expansion in this field of transportation that was so vital to industrial development. The results of these and other complementary factors, all generally encouraged by public policy, can best be illustrated by describing some of the enterprises that were developed in the fifteen-year period following the Civil War and that were in operation in the early 1880's.

The best single example of industrial expansion in the post-war period was the Mississippi Mills at Wesson. The Mills which began operations in 1866 were favorably located on the Illinois Central Railroad about 135 miles north of New Orleans and forty-five miles south of Jackson in a fine cotton-growing region, and near wool-producing areas. The mills, worth \$600,000, had been constructed by Southern capital alone. Built and operated by James M. Wesson⁴² until 1871, the enterprise was sold that year to John T. Hardie and William Oliver of New Orleans. The firm, under their supervision, operated successfully until 1873, when Hardie sold his interest in the mills to John P. Richardson, a wealthy plantation owner and businessman, also of New Orleans.⁴³

In 1880 the Mississippi Mills were operating 13,000 spindles and 692 looms, using about 8,000 bales of cotton and 1,300,000 pounds of wool per year.⁴⁴ The factory employed about eight hundred workers at that time. Those employees were mostly women from the surrounding area, but a few men and boys were also employed. No Negro labor was used except five men working as firemen. The mills operated both day and night with alternate shifts of workers. Carbon arc electric lights illuminated the building, making it almost "as bright as day."⁴⁵ The mills were run by steam generated by two Corliss engines of two hundred horsepower each. Wood was used for fuel since it was plentiful in the area and therefore inexpensive.⁴⁶

A variety of goods were produced at the factory -- cassimeres, linseys, tweeds, cottonades, sheeting, drilling, plaids, cotton threat and rope. "Mississippi silk," a beautiful cotton material produced by the mills and used

⁴²Wesson *Enterprise*, April 6, 1951. At his mill, erected at Bankston in Choctaw County in 1848, Wesson started the first spindle and spun the first yarns that were made in Mississippi by steam or water power.

⁴³Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, January 13, 1881.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, March 3, 1880.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, January 13, 1881.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, March 3, 1880.

for making dresses, was very popular with the ladies.⁴⁷ Colored fabrics were said to be bright in color, attractive in design and color fast. Sheetings and shirtings were made of the best cotton and were heavier than similar goods which sold at higher prices in the East. The woolen goods were free from "shoddy materials." All of the cotton consumed by the Mississippi Mills was bought at the mill. Hence no freight charges had to be paid on the raw cotton used. Therefore, prices for manufactured goods could be kept low. Much of the wool used was also bought at the mill; however, some was shipped there from Florida, Texas, and other states producing fine grades of wool. Textiles from the Mississippi Mills were in great demand, and found a ready sale in New York, Cleveland, St. Louis, Chicago, Kansas City, St. Joseph, Louisville, and in all the states of the lower South.⁴⁸

In 1882 the Mississippi Mills manufactured 2,800,000 yards of cotton materials, 739,000 yards of woolen goods, 72,000 yards of cotton yarns, 150,000 pounds of cotton rope, and numerous other articles of cotton or wool.⁴⁹

The famous Mississippi Mills grew from a relatively modest beginning in a pine forest to be the state's most outstanding industrial asset. In fact, during the period of peak operation, the enterprise was the largest manufacturing institution south of the Ohio River. It was called the Lowell of the South.⁵⁰ Its buildings and grounds covered six acres, and the structures were massive in appearance. There were three brick buildings with slate roofs and consisting of three, four, and five stories, respectively. The three-story structure was fifty by 350 feet; the four-story building, fifty by 212 feet; and the five-story one, fifty by 240 feet. Built onto those buildings were two towers, six stories high and twenty feet square with clocks installed in each. These towers also housed two 5,000 gallon tanks that supplied water for the automatic sprinkling system. A third tower, eight stories high, had a 20,000 gallon water tank which also fed into the sprinklers, effectively preventing the danger of destruction of the mills by fire. Another two-story building, forty by one hundred feet, a loom shed with capacity for storing two million pounds of wool, and a large cotton warehouse with 6,000-bale capacity completed the magnificent array of buildings.⁵¹

From time to time improved machinery was installed, and eventually the productive capacity of the mills was approximately twice as great as in

⁴⁷ *Idem.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, January 13, 1881; January 17, 1883.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, January 17, 1883.

⁵⁰ *Wesson Enterprise*, April 6, 1951. Material for the article appearing in the above newspaper was reproduced from a booklet on the Mississippi Mills, issued by John P. Richardson, president, and William Oliver, secretary-treasurer and general manager of the enterprise.

⁵¹ *Idem.*

1880.⁵² One reason for the success of the enterprise was the wide variety of its manufactured products. They could supply almost any article in staple goods made of cotton or wool. The Mississippi Mills, which so well demonstrated successful textile manufacturing in the South, were torn away just prior to 1920 following a strike.⁵³

Situated on the east bank of the Mississippi River at Natchez were the Natchez Cotton Mills, incorporated in 1878. The factory was housed in a three-story brick building, 328 feet long and fifty feet wide. The mills operated 304 looms and 10,304 spindles that were driven by a 300-horsepower engine. Approximately 275 employees manufactured annually 4,500 bales of cotton into brown domestics, shirtings, and other materials which were in great demand.⁵⁴ The Rosalie Cotton Yarn Mills, chartered in 1880 and located at Natchez, occupied a three-story building 170 feet long and fifty feet wide and operated 6,048 spindles that were driven by a 300-horsepower engine. Sixty to one hundred people were employed at the enterprise. About 2,500 bales of cotton were converted, annually, into yarns which were readily sold.⁵⁵

Seven miles northwest of Enterprise, the Wanita Cotton Mills, chartered in 1878, operated thirty-two cotton looms, four woolen looms, and 1,500 spindles. The factory occupied a two-story wooden frame building, and its equipment was powered by a water wheel.⁵⁶ The Stonewall Cotton Mills, chartered in 1870 and located near Enterprise, were housed in a structure of two wings, each forty-eight feet long and thirty feet wide. One hundred employees, operating 3,208 spindles, thirty-six wool cards and one hundred looms, annually converted 1,500 bales of cotton into "sheetings, shirtings, drills, and yarns."⁵⁷ The Canton Cotton Company, also chartered in 1870, was situated on the Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans Railroad, a short distance from Canton. In 1882 it had a substantial brick building two hundred by ninety feet. The factory had not begun operations, but the necessary machinery to be driven by a 150-horsepower engine was already installed in the building.⁵⁸

The accomplishments of the commissioner of immigration and agriculture, a position created in 1873, were generally insignificant, partly because of insufficient appropriations made by the legislature. However, the state board of immigration and agriculture, established in 1878 to take over duties formerly assigned to the commissioner of immigration and agriculture,

⁵² *Idem.*

⁵³ *Idem.*

⁵⁴ *Jackson Weekly Clarion*, November 15, 1882.

⁵⁵ *Idem.*

⁵⁶ *Idem.*

⁵⁷ *Idem.*

⁵⁸ *Idem.*

was making some progress by the late 1870's and early 1880's. Soon after the board was organized, the agents began distributing pamphlets, maps, and other information concerning the state. However, because the board received an appropriation of only \$4,583 for the years 1878 and 1879, the officers had to rely upon commissions from the sale of lands for their own remuneration.⁵⁹ In 1878 the state board made arrangements with all the railroads in the state to transport immigrants at reduced rates. Excursion trains were engaged to bring two thousand immigrants into Mississippi from Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, but the yellow fever epidemic of that year deterred their coming.⁶⁰

The legislature of 1880 failed to make an appropriation for the work of the board of immigration and agriculture. Consequently, Commissioner E. G. Wall had to limit his efforts to correspondence and distribution of papers, maps, and circulars that he had on hand. He answered over three thousand letters during the years 1880 and 1881. According to Wall the state was then better known abroad than it had been at any former period. Many capitalists from the Northern states and from England were prospecting to find favorable locations for factories in Mississippi.⁶¹ Although the main object of the board of immigration and agriculture was to encourage reliable farmers to move to Mississippi, many immigrants found employment in the state's industries.⁶²

Accomplishments of the board of immigration and agriculture for the years 1878 to 1883 were published in the Jackson *Clarion* of October 24, 1883. The article stated that thousands of handbooks of Mississippi had been printed and distributed in the United States and abroad. About 15,000 copies in German and 5,000 in Swedish had been sent to Europe, while 25,000 in English had been distributed in the United States and in England. Efforts were made to place each copy in the hands of a capitalist or a farmer. It was estimated that at least 300,000 or 400,000 people would become acquainted with the climate, soil, and products of Mississippi through the medium of those handbooks.⁶³

The advertising brought results. By 1883, immigrants had bought 100,000 acres of private lands. Most of these people came from the states of Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North and South Carolina. Over 600,000 acres of United States government lands lying in the longleaf pine region of Mississippi had been sold. Approximately 850 homesteads had been established by people from outside the state. The settling of the new lands raised their value considerably. They now became subject to taxation, and as a result more revenue was collected for the state and for the counties in which lay these newly-settled lands.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Mississippi, *Department Reports*, 1880, 3, 10.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1882, 3.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 1880, 1-10.

⁶³ Jackson *Clarion*, October 24, 1883.

⁶⁴ *Idem.*

The Census of 1880 revealed a slight specific decline in Mississippi industry during the decade 1870-1880. The Panic of 1873 with its depressing effects on industrial activity was, no doubt, largely responsible for the setback. The number of establishments, number of workers, value of production, and percent of population employed in manufacturing pursuits had decreased during the decade of the 1870's. There were 252 less industrial establishments and 114 less workers than in 1870. The value of production had been reduced \$566,456, and the ratio of population employed had decreased 0.21 percent. Actually, that factor was at a lower mark in 1880 than it had been for several decades past. Only 0.51 percent of the population was employed in industry. Capital investment for the decade, 1870-1880, however, showed an increase of \$225,886. It must have been encouraging to Mississippians that capital investment in industry had increased from decade to decade since 1840.⁶⁵ In fact, the price level had dropped approximately thirty-eight percent during the decade, and when allowance for that fact is made, there was apparently a rise in real value of industrial production and of production per employee, and no significant decline in investment per capita, or in production per capita. To translate these factors, one can conclude that at the end of the decade there were fewer factories, representing substantially more value but employing fewer people, turning out products of greater real value than the state's enterprises were manufacturing a decade before.

During the 1870-1880 period the population of Mississippi increased 36.7 percent while the value of industrial production decreased approximately eight percent; whereas the population gain and the industrial growth of the nation increased at about the same rate, thirty and twenty-eight percent, respectively.

When compared to the other states, the factor which showed the greatest decrease during the 1870-1880 decade was the state's average production per capita. In 1880 the Mississippi figure was \$6.64 or only 6.06 percent of the \$109.50 average of the rest of the nation. That ratio was a thirty percent reduction from the 1870 figure. Mississippi's average capital investment per capita had also decreased. The state's average for 1880 was \$4.17 or 7.33 percent of the \$56.90 national figure. That represented a twenty-four percent drop from the 1870 ratio of 9.7 percent for Mississippi. The state's average investment per establishment and average number of employees per establishment, each showed a decrease of approximately thirteen percent from the 1870 figures. A reduction of only one percent was shown in Mississippi's average production per employee as compared to the rest of the United States. The factor which showed an increase was the average capital investment per employee. It showed an eight percent increase. The 1880 Mississippi figure of \$812 was 79.6 percent of the \$1,020 average for the rest of the states, as compared to the 1870 figure of \$757, or 73.5 percent of the \$1,030 average for the other states.⁶⁶

⁶⁵See Table I, *Mississippi Quarterly*, VIII (April, 1955), 11.

⁶⁶See Table II, *ibid.*, 12.

In comparison to national industrial growth after 1860, Mississippi had fallen far behind the average for the United States. The state was lower industrially in 1880 than it had been in 1870 in relation to the rest of the nation. However, the percentage of relative decrease during the 1870-1880 period was not as great concerning any factor considered as it was between 1860-1870. For instance, the decrease in the average production per employee from 1870-1880 was only one percent, whereas, during the previous decade, it was thirty percent.⁶⁷ In relation to the other states in 1880, Mississippi ranked eighteenth in population and thirty-fifth in value of manufactured products.⁶⁸

Although political policy in the 1870's favored industry, Mississippi had established no definite program for industrial development. When, however, in the early 1880's the price of cotton dropped to around seven and eight cents per pound, apparently the legislature was convinced of the need for some additional encouragement to industry. In 1882, upon the recommendation of Governor Robert Lowry, the lawmaking body passed an act to exempt from taxation for ten years from the date it was put into operation any new manufacturing enterprise to be established in the state.⁶⁹ However, this new and more positive policy of encouragement to industry lay ahead of this period of study.

In 1880 the state stood at or near its peak in industrial development up to that time. The Census figures revealed progress, although sometimes not too great, from decade to decade for forty years. The expansion in the first fifteen years after the Civil War, however, was quite remarkable considering the dismal situation that existed in 1865. Presumably, much of the post-war growth was due to public policy that was generally favorable to industrial development.

⁶⁷ *Mississippi Quarterly*, VIII (April, 1955), 10-12; and pp. 39-40 *supra*.

⁶⁸ U. S. Tenth Census, 1880, II, 12.

⁶⁹ *Mississippi Guide*, 108.

News and Notes

PRACTICAL NURSES TRAINING STUDY. A \$12,000 research project for the evaluation of Mississippi's practical nurses training program is being undertaken by the Social Science Research Center in the School of Business and Industry at Mississippi State College. The study is being conducted for the Division of Vocational Education of the State Department of Education, and the Division of Sociology and Rural Life at State College will provide the leadership and research personnel for the project. The project is being completely financed by the Kellogg Foundation. "We are delighted to have a research project of such significance that is entirely self-supporting," commented Dean Weems. The project has been set up by Dr. Harold F. Kaufman, head of the sociology department, with Dr. Marion Loftin as leader. Mr. E. A. Parker, state supervisor of trades and industrial education and Miss Marjorie Moore, assistant supervisor of practical nursing, will participate as consultants.

The entire study will be completed by the end of April, 1956. Data for the study will be obtained from practical nurses of the state and their immediate supervisors and from personnel of the state vocational education division. The specific questions to be answered in the study include: (1) What are the duties of the practical nurse in terms of what she is now doing, where she is working, and what she should be doing? (2) What is the relationship between the qualifications and personal characteristics of the practical nurse and her success in school and on the job? (3) How well is the graduate practical nurse doing her job? (4) What are the needs for practical nurses in Mississippi and how well are these needs being met? (5) What is the effectiveness of the practical nurses' training curriculum as it is now being operated? and (6) What is the present administrative organization of the program and what is its relationship for effective training?

Mississippi's vocational educational program in practical nursing began in 1951. In 1952 the Kellogg foundation made \$100,000 available for the expansion and development of this training. The current study will seek to evaluate the resultant program.

DR. GORDON K. BRYAN, Professor of Government at Mississippi State, is visiting professor at Vanderbilt University for the summer session.

WILLIAM BUCHANAN, Assistant Professor of Government at Mississippi State, received his Ph. D. degree from Princeton in June.

DR. ROBERT H. SPIRO, Mississippi College history professor, is the recipient of a \$500 grant-in-aid by the Southern Fellowship Fund, to complete further advanced research in the field of history. He has been at work this summer on a biography on the life of John Loudon McAdam, world-famous civil engineer whose life has innumerable interesting episodes. The Southern Fellowship Fund is designed to assist persons now teaching in colleges in the 14 southern states to carry out advanced study or research during the summer of 1955. Dr. Spiro has been with Mississippi College since 1950, when he was appointed as professor of history. His educational background includes a Ph. D. degree from the University of Edinburgh, in Scotland.

Publications

Carver, Joy, *Meditations on a High Hill* (Perkinston, Perkinston Junior College, 1955), 72 pp. A book of verse by a young Mississippi writer. A review will appear later.

Experimental Approach to Farmer Education: Papers Presented at Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Louisville, Kentucky, February 7-9, 1955 (Knoxville, Tennessee Valley Authority, March, 1955), 27 pp. Published by the Tennessee Valley Authority, Division of Agricultural Relations, Agricultural Economics Branch, in Cooperation with the Department of Sociology and Rural Life of Mississippi State College. Contains a paper delivered by Dr. Harold Kaufman entitled "A Case Study in Farmer Education."

Watson, Natalie Brown, *Blue and Gray Together* (Perkinston, Perkinston Junior College, 1954), 62 pp. A collection of verse and sketches by an English instructor at Perkinston Junior College. A review will appear later.

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